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MONDAY, APRIL 29, 1929

WHOLE No. 608



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WHOLE NO. 608

CATULLUS 4—WAS CATULLUS'S PHASELLUS A RACING-YACHT?

The familiar fourth poem of Catullus (Phasellus ille, quem videtis, hospites, etc.), of only twenty-seven verses, makes a simple, natural appeal to any reader; but how does it fit into the picture of the poet's life? A complete statement and discussion of the many opinions about this poem, as a whole and in details, from the time of the humanists to that of P. E. Sonnenburg, would fill a small book¹.

It is not my present purpose to try to settle the question whether the poem is realistic and descriptive of an actual situation in Catullus's life, or is simply ideal, or, perhaps, as is quite possible, is an imitation or study from some Hellenistic Greek original. Since Professor Edward P. Morris's study of Catullus's eighth poem (Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire, etc.) in an article, not very accessible, I fear², scholars might well be cautious about taking as quite literal and personal poems that conform to Hellenistic precept and type. In any case, the critic must consider all possible interpretations.

A natural interpretation of the fourth poem, if the poem is taken by itself without any adventitious background, makes the poem an explanation or poetical paraphrase by the poet of a dedicatory inscription on a yacht, or referring to a yacht. I myself take the yacht to be a racing-yacht, which, having finished its victorious career, is now out of commission, yet still deserves to have its record of matchless speed remembered. That Catullus's *phasellus* was a racing-yacht is shown by the fact that it had never been beaten in either a rowing or a sailing contest, as could be attested by the inhabitants of all the coasts along which it had passed. The clause preceding the dedication at the close (25-27),

Sed haec prius fuere: nunc recondita
senet quiete seque dedicat tibi,
gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris,

seems to corroborate this view, for it almost certainly echoes the words of the poet Ennius, who compares himself in his advancing age to a once victorious Olympic race-horse that now grows old enjoying peace and rest. The verses of Ennius, preserved by Cicero, De Senectute 14, are from Annales 12 (Vahlen³, 374-375): sicut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo vicit Olumpia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Latin inscriptions honoring victorious jockeys and race-horses are not unknown. Why, then, should there not be one in Latin or in Greek commemorating a

racing-yacht? There actually is a *stèle* in the Museum at Athens which commemorates a victorious Greek racing-crew.

Let me now give a fairly literal translation of our poem:

'My friends, yonder yacht, which you see, declares that she was once the fastest of vessels, and that the speed of no craft afloat could overhaul her, whether her task was to fly along with the oar-blades or under canvas. This claim, she declares, is attested by the threatening Adriatic and the Cyclades Islands and famous Rhodes and the wild Thracian Propontis and the cruel Pontic gulf, where she, later a yacht, was once a waving forest, for on Cytorus's ridge her whispering tresses oft whistled in the winds. Pontic Amastris and box-clad Cytorus, the yacht says that all this was and is to you a familiar story. She declares that originally she stood upon your summit, that in your waters she first dipped her oar-blades, and thence over so many raging seas she carried her owner, whether the breeze invited from port or starboard quarter, or Jupiter's favoring wind came down dead astern on both sheets at once, and that no votive offerings were made by her to the guardian-gods of the shore all the while she was coming from a most distant sea even to this limpid lake.

But these deeds are of the past; at present she rests in her old age in leisurely retirement, and dedicates herself to you, twin Castor, and to you, Castor's twin'.

While it has nothing to do with my argument that the *phasellus* was a racing-yacht, I cannot refrain from offering, for what it may be worth, a suggestion that may help in the solution of the question whether the poem was based on a Greek original. Sonnenburg argued that Catullus would not have used certain infelicities or inelegancies of expression, e. g. *navium celerissimus* (2), *ail...neque...nequisse praeterire* (2-4), were he not trying to hit off by such expressions the pompous manner of a *cicerone* who was explaining to a group of curious sight-seers the story of the yacht. But is it not possible that Catullus, in this highly dramatic monologue, is, or pretends to be, giving an extempore paraphrase of an inscription?⁴ The manner of the speaker resembles the extempore, oral and at times free, paraphrasing, interpretative style of one who does not think it worth while *verbum de verbo exprimere*. One might imagine the poem to be based on one of those poetical improvisations which Catullus and Licinius Calvus used to throw off, as they capped verses over the wine-cups (Catullus 50. 4-6).

As a companion-piece to Catullus's poem we have a parody in Catalepton 10 (part of the Appendix Vergiliana), Sabinus iste, quem videtis, hospites, etc. Sabinus, the muleteer, according to these verses, was the fastest of all hackney coachmen in his district, a prize-winner, so to speak, in his class. The dedicatory form

¹This paper was read at the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Princeton University, May 18-19, 1928.

²De Catulli Phasello, Rheinisches Museum 73 (1920), 129-136.

³Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences (1909), 139-151.

⁴Compare Horace, Sermones 1.2.105-108, a resumé of the thirty-first epigram of Callimachus (Anthologia Palatina 12.102), in two verses of paraphrase, two of translation.

is in some respects a burlesque on the inscriptions still extant of famous jockeys, like that of Crescens⁴.

A statue of a victorious *auriga*, in the Museo delle Terme in Rome, carries in the right hand a palm of victory and in the left the end of the reins, or, perhaps, a whip. Sabinus, in the parody, has dedicated 'his father's leather reins and the curry-comb next most prized', etc.

The whole parody reads as follows:

'My friends, yon Sabinus, whom you see, declares that he was the fastest muleteer and was able to outstrip the speed of any cabriolet, whether his route was to fly to Mantua or to Brixia. He maintains that this claim is admitted by the illustrious house of his competitor Trypho and the tenement of Cerylus, where he, once Quintio, later Sabinus, says that he once sheared shaggy necks with double-bladed clippers, lest beneath the pressure of the Cytorian yoke the tough mane cause a wound. O cold Cremona and muddy Gaul, to you Sabinus says these facts were and are well-known. Tracing back his pedigree he says he once stood in your bottomless abyss, laid aside his burdens in your morass, and from there over so many rutted miles carried the yoke, if the left mule or the right began to balk, or both at once to kick with iron-shod feet, and that no votive gifts were made by him to the gods of the by-ways, except this last, his father's leather reins and the curry-comb next most prized. But all this is of the past; now upon an ivory seat he sits and dedicates himself to you, twin Castor, and to you, the twin of Castor'.

The ancients, as is well known, were inordinately fond of racing, from the early Olympic contests to the games at Constantinople under the Eastern Emperors. Successful jockeys and race-horses were celebrated in poems and in inscriptions. Victors are extolled in the odes of Pindar and Bacchylides, and in the epigrams of the Greek Anthology. Martial (10. 50; 10.53; 10.74.5) and Juvenal (7.114, 243; 11.193-202) tell of the Roman passion for the race-course and the gifts of money heaped upon the popular winners. In his eighth satire, which deals with the Roman pride of pedigree, Juvenal, taking the high ground that worth makes the man, and using the popular attitude toward race-horses to point a moral, refers to the sad fate in store for a track favorite that suffers frequent defeat (60-67. I use Alexander Leeper's translation [London, 1902. Leeper follows here J. E. Mayor's text]):

...He is a "noble" steed, whatever grass he comes from, who takes rank above his fellows in pace, and who raises the dust upon the course ahead of all; but the progeny of Coryphaeus and Hirpinus are 'stock for sale' if Victory has rarely perched on their collar... At a word the horses change their masters for a trifle and haul cart-ropes till their necks are sore, if they are slow of pace, and fit for nothing better than turning a *Nepos*' mill...

I believe that it is a fair inference, by contrast from Juvenal's words, that among the Romans a former victorious racing favorite would receive kindly treatment in his old age, a retirement to pleasant pastures, an exemption from all rough work, the love of his

owner, and, in the end, a grave with perhaps an honorary inscription. Such, at any rate, must have been the old age of many an Olympic victor, to one of which the poet Ennius once compared himself.

The phraseology of Ennius's verses cited above may have influenced Lucretius (6.73) in the passage in which he describes the tranquility of the Epicurean gods, *placida cum pace quietos*. I feel that E. Baehrens is right in suggesting that both Ennius and Catullus, and, I suppose, Lucretius also, have influenced the language of Vergil (*Aeneid* 1.249), in the picture of the old age of the strenuous, victorious, and forwarder Antenor. That hero, after voyaging over stormy seas and overcoming many trials, at last reached Italy, founded Patavium, settled there, and, having fastened his Trojan arms upon a wall, *nunc placida compostus pace quiescit*.

If Ennius may compare his own successful life with that of the race-horse growing old in retirement, would it not be both intelligible and natural, and in a way original, and perhaps even combining sentiment and the charm of literary allusion, to change simile to metaphor and personification in praising a one-time victorious racing-yacht, or, as we might say, a cup-winner now out of commission? Even if the poem on the *phasellus* could be shown to be a study from the Greek, Catullus might have borrowed a familiar Ennian tag, *more Romano*, as Lucretius and Vergil often did. The words *Sed haec prius fuisse* serve as a formula of transition to the closing lines. Although it is a far cry from Catullus to Pindar, such a formula occurs at the end of the sixth Pythian Ode, written for Xenocrates of Acragas, winner in the chariot-race (43-45: I use the translation by Ernest Myers [London, Macmillan, 1902 reprint]): "These things are of the past; but of men that now are Thrasyboulos hath come nearest to our fathers' gauge..."⁵ A 'serene old age' is promised to the victor in several Pindaric odes: to Hiero of Syracuse, victor in a horse-race (Ol. 1.97-98), "but he that overcometh hath for the sake of those games a sweet tranquillity throughout his life for evermore", to Psamius of Camarina, victor in a mule-chariot-race (Ol. 5.21-23), "For thee also, Olympian victor, I pray that... thou mayest bear with thee to the end a serene old age...", and to Chromius of Aetna, victor in a chariot-race (Nem. 9.42-44). "And other deeds on other days will I declare, many done amid the dust on the dry land, and yet others on the neighbouring sea. Now out of toils which in youth have been done with righteousness there ripeneth toward old age a day of calm".

I would not maintain that Catullus necessarily had Pindar in mind, but only that the promise of a peaceful old age for the victor occurs in several poems celebrating racing victories, and that, if Catullus was making use of a Greek model that contained this form of words, the latter had the sanction of a long and consecrated tradition. At any rate, *mutatis mutandis*, the words are suitable for a once victorious racing-yacht.

⁴The Crescens inscription is translated in H. W. Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans*, § 342, note. In the text the names of five other *aurigae* are given, with their records.

⁵Compare also Ol. 13.101-103: "Now have their acts at Olympia, methinks, been told already: of those that shall be hereafter I will hereafter clearly speak..."

There are plenty of modern parallels that illustrate the preserving, often with inscriptions, of old varsity racing-shells, and also of America's Cup Defenders, and racing-yachts, which, because yacht-designing is liable to sudden change in the selection of lines and rigging, often become antiquated before the yachts, as such, can be called old. This fact alone might suggest caution against laying great emphasis on a literal interpretation of the words *Sed haec prius fuere*. Colonel Charles Lindbergh's aeroplane, The Spirit of St. Louis, has been put in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, with an appropriate inscription. As we cannot tell whether Catullus's poem is from the Greek, or is ideal, or even is connected at all with the experience of the poet, further speculation is rather futile.

There is evidence that the Romans had regattas and boat-racing at a very early period. Livy, after describing entertainingly (10.2.1-14) how his fellow-townsmen, the Patavians, in 302 B. C., successfully defeated Cleonymus and his band of pirates, informs us that in his own day this victory was still commemorated by an annual regatta (15): Monumentum navalis pugnae, eo die quo pugnatum est quotannis sollemne certamen navium in flumine oppidi medio exercetur. Now *certamen* is the general Latin word for 'race', and, since the expression *πῶν ἀμιλλα* is almost certainly used in a passage of Pausanias (2.35) for 'boat-race' (see note 9, below), *certamen navium* would naturally suggest 'boat-race', were we not all but obsessed with the idea that the sham naval-battle, or *naumachia*, so common under the Empire, was, if not the only form of boat-contest, at least the usual form. But the description in Aeneid 5.104-284 of the great boat-race would have less point if the Greeks and the Romans were unacquainted with that form of aquatic sport. Servius, commenting upon Aeneid 5.114, says:

Punico bello primum naumachiam ad exercitium instituere Romani coeperunt, postquam probarunt gentes etiam navali certamine plurimum posse, ad quam rem in hoc certamine plurimum adludit poeta.

From this statement it is clear that Servius uses *certamen* for a 'boat-race', and that Vergil and his readers were familiar with such racing as a customary sport. It follows also that the term *naumachia* included the racing of boats. Obviously, skilled oarsmen and sailors were necessary for successful maneuvering in pursuit and in battle; it is equally obvious that competition is peculiarly exhilarating in this form of training. Even without the note of Servius we might have been justified in inferring that boat-racing, at least in its informal stages, was well-known among peoples so familiar with the sea and with competitive sports as were the Greeks and the Romans⁷. Rivalry between the crews of competing vessels would naturally lead to boat-racing, a form of sport common even

among the South-Sea islanders. But boat-racing, as we know it, may have had a much more ancient and distinguished origin. If G. Glotz is right in believing⁸ that the Greeks, who, more than any other Indo-European people, indulged in athletic sports, acquired this agonistic habit, as also the technique of sea-navigation, from the great Cretan-Aegean civilization that preceded their own civilization in Hellas, then we might infer that boat-racing may go back to the days of the thalassocracy of Minos⁹.

I have not attempted to collect all the passages in Latin literature that allude to boat-racing, but I may mention several which I have noted in my general reading. Pliny (Epp. 8.20.7), describing the floating islands of Lake Vadimonis, says: Saepe minores <insulae> maioribus velut cumbulae onerariis adhaerescunt, saepe inter se maiores minoresque quasi cursum certamenque desumunt. The expression *cursum certamenque* is akin to the terms in common use for horse-racing, as in Epp. 9.6.2, si in ipso cursu medioque certamine hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur. The poet Statius (Thebais 9.246-247) describes some fish that escape from a dolphin, which then goes off to race with a ship, nec prius emersi quam summa per aequora flexus emicet et visis malit certare carinis, or, as Professor W. C. Summers¹⁰ translates the lines, "And rise not till he to the surface bounds Eager to race some bark descried afar".

Petronius 45, scias oportet plenis velis hunc vinciturum, sounds proverbial.

The charming poem Mosella, by the fourth century poet-professor Ausonius, mentions (200-208) a regatta (*spectacula*) where 'swift cutters race in mid-stream with oars moving like running feet': Haec quoque quam dulces celebrant spectacula pompas, remipedes medio certant cum flumine lembi.

There is clear allusion to boat-racing in Ovid, Tristia 1.10, a poem thought by some critics to be, if not a direct imitation, at least a reminiscence, of Catullus. Of course Ovid, as well as Catullus, may have had a Greek model before him. Ovid writes thus of his ship bought at Corinth for his trip to the East (1.10.3-6):

Sive opus est velis, minimam bene currit ad auram,
sive opus est remo, remige carpit iter,
nec comites volucris contenta est vincere cursu,
occupat egressas quamlibet ante rates....

"...If there is need of sails, she scuds along before a tiny breeze, or, if there is need of oar, she speeds her way to the oarsmen's stroke, nor is she satisfied with beating her convoy in their winged course, but she overhauls vessels with ever so great a start...."

i.e. she overhauls vessels with ever so great a handicap, although Ovid is not speaking here of a regular race. The sentiment, paralleling the words of Catullus (4-5),

⁷G. Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, 390, 392 (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1925). <See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 20.201-202. C. K.>

⁸Those who would like to learn more about boat-racing among the Greeks should read Sir James G. Frazer's note on Pausanias 2.35, and articles on the subject by Professor Percy Gardner, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 2.90-97, 315-317, 11.146-150. Professor Gardner thinks it probable that the Actian races were but a revival of traditional local races. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 2.93.

¹⁰The Silver Age of Latin Literature from Tiberius to Trajan, 36 (New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1920).

⁷In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15, 202, Miss Mary B. Peaks, in an article entitled Vergil's Seaman'ship, expresses the opinion that, after Augustus established a permanent fleet at Misenum, Vergil and many of his readers may have seen races there. She thinks also that the sight of such races may have influenced Vergil's description in Aeneid 5 of the boat-race.

may, however, be but the natural elaboration of the idea that Ovid's boat is of matchless speed. At the end of his journey in his vessel, Ovid consigns her to the care of Castor and Pollux, the tutelary gods of mariners (1.10.45-47). Like Catullus, Ovid enumerates the countries passed *en route*; but such enumeration is customary in poems descriptive of travel. Catullus alone, however, uses the artifice of calling these shores to bear witness to the matchless sailing qualities of the *phasellus*; from this, possibly, we may get a hint that the yacht had been uniformly victorious in local trials of speed.

Martial (7.19) has an epigram about a fragment of the Argo, which once won a race at the Isthmia at Corinth, as on exhibition at Rome in his day as a museum piece. So, according to Pliny the Elder (36.70), the ship which was specially built to transport an obelisk from Egypt to Italy was preserved, having been dedicated at Puteoli by Augustus: *Divus Augustus eam <navem> quae priorem advexerat obeliscum miraculi gratia Puteolis perpetuis navalibus dicaverat; incendio consumpta ea est.*

Mr. E. Norman Gardiner, in his book on Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals¹, remarks (221): "The only evidence for the regatta <at the Isthmian games> is the statement that in mythical times the Argo won the boat-race at the Isthmus..." Procopius (*Bellum Gothicum* 4.22) records a statement that the Romans used to look at the ship of Aeneas. Plato (*Phaedo* 58 A) and Plutarch (*Theseus* 23) assure us that the Athenians preserved the ship in which Theseus had sailed to Crete.

There are some curious bits of evidence about regattas in Greece which Mr. Gardiner has collected (221). There were boat-races at the Panathenaea. The Athenian *theoria* came to the Isthmia in a ship. But we have no definite information concerning details.

There were boat-races at the Diisoteria in the month of Skirophorion (229), also at the Aiantea and Munychia, and at Sunium. According to Professor Gardiner (240), the regatta on the last day of the Panathenaea brought the festival to an end; it was a competition between tribes. We hear of a competition... "At Hermione <in the Argolid> in diving (or perhaps swimming), and also of boat-races..." (Gardiner, 507-508). We have seen that boat-racing took place at the Isthmia and at various Athenian festivals. Compare Professor Gardiner again (508):

...There was also a boat-race at the Actian festival in the time of Augustus; and Professor Percy Gardner has shown that there is a possible reference to this contest on the coins of Corcyra and Nicopolis.... The coins suggest a race between galleys such as that described in the *Aeneid*, but the boats used in the Athenian races were probably not triremes, but small boats with a single bank of oars, tender-boats... such as always accompanied a fleet. A boat of this description is depicted on a stele in the Museum of Athens of Hellenistic or Roman period... It is a long narrow boat with a pointed beak in front, and a curved *apluster* at the stern, and in it there sit eight oarsmen. There

is no sign of the oars. The men are naked and are sitting at ease, and bow, who is the smallest of the crew, holds a palm-branch. The number eight is of course a pure accident. There is no cox in the boat, but on the upper part of the stele are three figures standing, a draped figure in the centre, probably the gymnasiarchos who fitted out and trained the crew, on his left a naked youth bearing a palm, on his right a youth in a *chlamys* crowning the man in the centre. These two Professor Gardner identifies with the stroke and cox of the victorious crew.

It is not my purpose to carry through the interpretation of our poem in all its details. Many scholars with varying degrees of success have done so, laying stress now on this point, now on that. It is a formidable list of names, including Munro, Baehrens, Westphal, Robinson Ellis, Benoist, Schwabe, Riese, Schulze, Cichorius, Friedrich, C. L. Smith, and Sonnenburg.

One of the best monographs on the poem is still that of Professor Clement L. Smith, published in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 3.75-89. But I do not, with him, take the words *Sed haec prius fuisse* as necessarily referring to events of a generation before the time of Catullus, first, because, in a dedicatory inscription, the time-reference may be relative to the time of the wayfarer who reads it, after the manner of the so-called epistolary tenses, and, secondly, because, if the particular service of the *phasellus* was what I take it to have been, that of a racing-yacht, its period of usefulness might have been brief enough to make appropriate the ascription to it of only a relatively old age and a retirement but a few years after its maiden voyage, even if we do not assume that some accident had happened to its hull. Now the most obvious statement in the poem, and in the other poems that seem to be imitations of it, is that about the matchless speed. The *phasellus*, made of the best Pontic timber, remained unbeaten, a fact to which all the coastal regions from Bithynia to Italy could bear eloquent witness. In other words, this *phasellus* was probably designed and built for speed, and was therefore what we call a racing-yacht. That such a craft had successfully made the dangerous voyage over stormy waters from Asia to Italy was in itself a remarkable feat for those days, for it was neither a cargo-boat nor a passenger-packet intended for heavy seas. We are all familiar to-day with one of the conditions prescribed for the challenger for the America's Cup, that the yacht must cross the Atlantic under its own sails and spars.

I hold no theory as to whether the *phasellus* was built for some unknown owner, or for a shadowy Serenus (resurrected out of the garbled Bernese scholia to Vergil, *Georgics* 3.289), or for Catullus's father, or for the poet, or bought by either of them, for use in Asiatic, Greek, or Italian waters. Yet, if it had been a victorious racer, we can easily account for the sentimental feeling that would lead its owner, whoever he was, to preserve it and exhibit it, or a miniature model of it, with a suitable inscription, at some place to us unknown, where a votive dedication was appropriate. I do not believe that the poem of Catullus is

¹London, Macmillan, 1910.

itself to be taken as that inscription. The latter may have been in Greek or in Latin, in prose or in verse. Catullus may have translated or imitated an original Greek epigram or, as Sonnenburg thinks (see note 2, above), he may be simply poking fun at the self-importance of a *mystagogus* or local tourist's guide (much as, in Carmen 84, he teases Q. Arrius about misplacing his *h-s!*), or, as I am inclined to think, the poem may simulate the manner of improvisation, dramatically presenting an extempore paraphrase in verse of some sort of inscription.

While the ninth book of the Palatine Anthology offers many epigrams (31-36, 106, 107, 218, 307) that illustrate details of our poem, it seems to me that in some respects the nearest approach to a Greek model is the fifth epigram of Callimachus, an Alexandrine favorite of Catullus. It is preserved in Athenaeus's work, the *Deipnosophistae* (7.318) and is a self-dedication to Arsinoe Zephyritis, the Egyptian Aphrodite, of a *nautilus*, a self-propelling sea-mussel, which, according to Oppian (*Halieutica* 1.340), first suggested to mortals the use of sailing ships. The word for sea-mussel, *καρχα*, with which the epigram begins, might also suggest to a Roman a familiar kind of bean; *phasellus* was the Egyptian bean. The Greek epigram runs as follows:

'A mussel I was, Zephyritis, long ago a wonder, but you now, Cypris, have me as Selene's first offering, a nautilus which, if the wind blew, used to speed over the seas, stretching its sail from its own mast-stays, but in a calm rowing itself with its feet, justifying its name, until I fell upon the shores of Ioulis, in order that I might become your prized plaything, Arsinoe'.

UNION COLLEGE,
SCHENECTADY, NEW YORK GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG

REVIEWS

The Work and Life of Solon, With a Translation of his Poems. By Kathleen Freeman. Cardiff, The University of Wales Press Board; London, Humphrey Milford (1926). Pp. 236.

Miss Freeman's monograph, *The Work and Life of Solon*, makes a welcome addition to the rapidly increasing mass of studies devoted to the Athenian law giver'. The extent to which Solon has engaged the attention of modern scholars is apparent from the list of books and articles which Miss Freeman saw fit to include in her Bibliography (226-228). Comparison of this with a much more extensive bibliography given in a recent American life of Solon shows² more than twenty items bearing specifically on Solon, not

including more general works, which swell Miss Freeman's list.

Appendix A (219-225), which lists "The Chief References To Solon By Name In Ancient Literature", gives an idea of the amount of material to be sifted by any student who wishes to base his work on ancient sources, but, since relatively few of the passages included in the Appendix are cited in the text, it is evident that their chief value is to gauge the place occupied by Solon in ancient thought. Even statements made in the authors used by Miss Freeman need careful sifting, as she well realized. In this task of sifting, she does not adopt the hypercritical attitude of the skeptic, and for the most part agnosticism makes no appeal to her. The test of her methods is to be found in Chapter V (112-148), where Solon's laws are discussed. Miss Freeman tries to determine which are genuinely Solonian. Her conclusions, although not dogmatically stated, give Solon the benefit of the doubt in the great majority of cases, with the result that only a few laws or portions of laws commonly ascribed to Solon are dissociated by her from Solon's name.

In this connection the reviewer feels that a chapter devoted to a careful examination of the credibility of the sources for Solon would have helped both the author and the reader, for, except as a bare compilation of material—and a very full one it is—the treatise is of value only if one accepts as correct the judgment of the author about the truth or the falsity of the sources. The skeptics will say that she has credited Solon with too much, and she has no argument by which they can be confuted. Nevertheless the reviewer believes that Miss Freeman has shown insight into the character of the man and the times, and that, by placing many of Solon's measures in their proper setting, she has given them an *a priori* credibility. This does not mean that the reviewer agrees with her on all points.

Solon's constitutional reforms are of chief importance to the student of history. In the Preface (7) Miss Freeman states that the first chapter of the book (13-55) "describes what is known of the early history of the community and the point of development at which Solon found it when he began his reforms...", and that the second chapter (56-84)

attempts to define his treatment of his material, and the constitution which was the result of his labours. By this method it was hoped that a clearer idea might be formed of the precise nature of his alterations—how far he was an innovator, and how far he left the existing organization unchanged or merely re-arranged it....

Miss Freeman's detailed discussion of Athenian origins (Chapter I, 13-55) is an indication of the thoroughness with which she discharged her task.

Chapter III (85-89) deals with the *Seisachtheia*. This was (89)

nothing less than a freeing of the land and of the people by the cancelling of all contracts for loans in which land or persons were the security. Solon's later laws forbidding personal security, and assisting the improvement of agriculture, made this freedom permanent.

¹The contents of the book are as follows: Preface (7-8); Part I. The Work of Solon (11-148); I. The Attic Community Before Solon (13-55); II. The Constitution of Solon (56-84); III. The *Seisachtheia* (85-89); IV. Solon's Work on the Attic Coinage (90-111); V. The Laws of Solon (112-148); Part II. The Life of Solon (149-203); I. The Life of Solon Before his Legislation (151-178); II. The Life of Solon After his Legislation (179-203); Part III. Translation of the Fragments of Solon's Poems (205-216); Appendix A. The Chief References to Solon by Name in Ancient Literature (219-225); Appendix B. Bibliography (226-228); Index (229-236).

²See Ivan M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian*, 311-317 (University of California Press, 1919). This book was reviewed in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 15:5-6.

This chapter would have gained in lucidity if it had included the discussion of *ἄποι* and *ἐκτήμεροι* found elsewhere, in several places (60-63, 85, 215). These ambiguous terms are so interpreted that the *ἐκτήμεροι* becomes (61, note 1) a renter owing one-sixth of his produce as rent for a farm on which were placed mortgage he contracts, *ἄποι*. "By cancelling the contracts, or, as calls it, pulling out the inscribed stones, Solon changed most of the Hektemeroi back to Zeugitai..." (63). The reader might ask how a mortgage differs from a sale if the mortgagor became a renter and had no opportunity of redeeming his property. One wonders whether the mortgages of the hektemeroi had not already been foreclosed, and whether the *ἄποι* had become veritable boundary stones. Could the payment of one sixth of the produce have been an interest charge, to which the property was subject until the principal of the loan should be repaid? Then the hektemeroi would not be renters, but owners, except for the burdensome charge³.

Of Chapter IV, Solon's work on the Attic Coinage (90-111), one need only say that it might well have been omitted, since the appearance, after this chapter was written, of Mr. C. T. Seltman's book, *Athens: Its History and Coinage Before the Persian Invasion*⁴, completely altered the foundations on which such a study must be based, whether one agrees with Mr. Seltman's conclusions or not.

Part II, which deals with the life of Solon, contains two chapters (see note 1, above), in which Miss Freeman discusses, among other things, Solon's family, his travels, the capture of Salamis, the Sacred War, and Solon's association with Pisistratus. The biography ends with a summary (200-203) of the chief principles underlying Solon's life and work. Miss Freeman declares (202) that Solon

held the belief of his countrymen,
Surfeit breeds Pride, when great success attends.
And Hubris, Insolent Pride, to him was not so much
a usurpation of the rights of a god as the appropriation
of the rights of other human beings, so that they were
left a life less than human....

To Miss Freeman (203) "the dominant instinct of <Solon's> personality" was "a power of resistance". His

passion to check encroachment wherever it appears is so living that it achieves reforms greater than many a constructive theory could do. It is the Delphic 'Nothing too much' so strongly believed in and so unfalteringly applied that it is transformed from a prohibition to a creative law.

To the body of the monograph is attached a prose translation of the extant fragments⁵ of Solon's poems

³But the hektemeroi, as Mr. F. E. Adcock, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 4, 34-36, suggests, may have been landless peasants who had pledged their labor or the products of their labor as security for their debts, and the 'mortgages' of which the *ἄποι* were evidence were possibly sales with a provision for redemption.

⁴On this book see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 21.62-63. C. K. >.

⁵In numbering the fragments Miss Freeman makes one change from the basic text. Fragment 32 is combined with Fragments 30 and 31 without any indication that the amalgamation has been made. This causes confusion on pages 62 and 84. Miss Freeman often allows us to choose between alternative renderings, for the wording of the passages given in the text is not always the same as that which appears in the translation itself. Occasionally verse translations in the body of the book lend variety.

(207-216), our most important source of knowledge of his life and work. The translation follows the text of Hiller-Crusius. It is given without notes. In a book in which quotations in Greek appear on every other page one wonders why the Greek text was omitted.

On pages 102 and 163 quotations from Strabo and Herodotus are given without citation of book and chapter. A failure to give the authority for the statement on page 73 about the oath required of the Chief Archon is annoying. On the authority of *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* 1, No. 32⁶, the Callias decree, the institution of the treasurers of the gods other than Athena is erroneously placed in 452. On page 176 the date of the Salaminian decree is, in the opinion of the reviewer, placed far too early (the decree is cited only from Hicks and Hill, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*. See *Inscriptiones Graecae* 1, No. 17. In note 2 on page 109 the title of Lehmann-Haupt's monograph, *Solon of Athens*, is wrongly given as "Solon the Athenian".

One general criticism might be added. Though Miss Freeman emphasizes the economic purpose of Solon's legislation and states (178) that the chief events of Solon's career before 590 (including the Cylonian conspiracy and the legislation of Draco) have their origin in the entry of Athens into commerce in the middle of the seventh century, she gives no adequate discussion of results or of conditions antecedent to Solon, except as applied to agriculture. She makes no attempt to analyze the character of Athenian trade in the early sixth century; one wonders whether she realized the nature of the problem. We are presented with a picture of a State without a coinage and without developed manufactures. Yet its commerce was sufficient to dominate its foreign policy, and the many producers of exportable wares were in extreme poverty.

Despite these criticisms, the reviewer is grateful for this new life of Solon, and he hopes that Miss Freeman will not consider her task of investigating Solon's reforms finished with the publication of this monograph.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

ALLEN B. WEST

Die Phalangen Alexanders und Caesars Legionen. Von Alfred v. Domaszewski. *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 1925-26, 1. Abhandlung. Heidelberg (1926). Pp. 86.

Caesar's Gallic army consisted of six legions. In Alexander's army there were six *phalanges*. Of Caesar's legions, four, the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, Domaszewski says (80-82), were veterans from Spain and Gaul. The others, the eleventh and the twelfth, were newly recruited, and, since they were less reliable, Caesar paired them with the older legions both in the line of march and in battle. The seventh and the tenth legions were placed on the flanks; the twelfth and the eleventh served in the left center. Alexander's *phalan-*

⁶Edited by A. Kirchhoff (Berlin, 1873). The inscription may be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae* 1, No. 91 (editio minor, edited by F. Hiller von Gaertringen [Berlin, 1924]).

⁷For this work see above, note 6.

ges were divided three and three into the older regiments, called *pezetairoi*, and the more recently enrolled regiments, which had been recruited from territories added to Macedonia by Philip II. The pairing of new and old regiments, with the veterans on the flanks, was a part of Alexander's battle order, as of his line of march.

While Domaszewski admits (83)¹ that genius stands in no need of tutelage, the surprising fact that Caesar appears as a finished general without the technical training of the soldier leads him to assume that Caesar was Alexander's pupil. He suggests that Caesar, like others, used Ptolemy's account of Alexander's campaigns as a sort of text-book in the art of warfare. Hence came, he thinks, the parallel between the arrangements of the two generals.

Alexander's regiments, *φάλαγγες* or *τάξεις*, were frequently called by the names of their commanders, who were often princes or nobles from the recruiting district. I list them in order as they appeared at Issos and Gaugamela (the names of the recruiting districts are given in round brackets): Craterus (Eordia), Amyntas (Paenonia), Ptolemy (Tymphaea), Meleager (Pelagonia), Perdikkas (Orestia-Lyncestis), and Coenus (Elimiotis). The regiments of Craterus, Meleager, and Coenus were honored with the title *pezetairoi*; the first and the last held positions of special honor on the two flanks. That of Coenus corresponds to Caesar's Legio Decima. It was probably so honored because it had been the first to come under Philip's training, possibly when he was prince of Elimiotis before his accession to the throne. The Paenonian canton was last incorporated into Philip's kingdom (*in societatem nuper adscitos*², Curtius 4.13.28), and the Tymphaeans were likewise on the frontier (*peregrini militis*³, *ibid.*), as much Epirote as Macedonian. The foregoing analysis of Alexander's crack infantry regiments is based on an unpublished Heidelberg dissertation by Egenolf von Roeder, whose words are quoted by Domaszewski verbatim (43-49).

The regiment numbered normally 1920 men, in battle formation 120 front and 16 deep, or eight deep when the front of the enemy required an extension of the Macedonian line. Each regiment was divided into two chiliarchies and six *λόχοι*. The *λόχος* corresponds to the Roman manipulus; it contained two centuries. The name century properly applies to an earlier stage of the phalanx, before the file was increased from ten to sixteen men. The file was still called *δεκάς*, and its leader was *δεκαδάρχης*. This

increase in the file served to stiffen the ordinary line and it enabled the front to be extended by a simple division of the file into two half-files.

At this point (32-33) the author inserts an excursus on the manipular ranks of the Roman legion and their relation to the Greek phalanx. Further sections deal with the character and the organization of the Macedonian calvary, *ἑταῖροι* (33-36), and the *ὕπασπισται* (equated with *ἀργυρόσπιδες*: 36-38). They were a force of infantry serving with the Agrianes, the Macedonian bowmen, and with the phalanx of Coenus, in the place of honor at the right of the battle line, to form the royal guard. Domaszewski refuses to believe that the *σωματοφύλακες* were young nobles, pages undergoing military training. They were rather a section of the *ὕπασπισται*. In a section dealing with Alexander's army on the Granicus (38-42), Domaszewski compares the summary given by Ptolemaeus (Fragment 4), 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse, with the detailed catalogue of Diodorus (17.17.3-4), checking and correcting both of them by means of an analysis of the different corps serving under Alexander. He concludes that the army was divided almost equally between Macedonians and Greek allies, being composed of 32,000 infantry and 5,100 cavalry, as Diodorus states. A section on Alexander's rapidity of march (49-50) and a chapter on the tactics of his more important battles complete the strictly military portion of the monograph.

The first chapter, Die Quellen der Geschichte Alexanders (3-24), prepares the way for the military treatise (24-50) through a discussion of the sources of the history of Alexander with special reference to Curtius and his predecessors. Those who wish the details must read for themselves. It is enough to state here that Curtius is acquitted (3-4) of having made a bad pun (10.9.4): *Huius⁴, hercule, non solis ortus lucem caliganti reddidit mundo...* This passage should no longer be taken as referring to the death of Caligula (*caliganti*). It refers, Domaszewski thinks, to the death of Trajan; and one must admit that Hadrian is a much brighter star than Claudius at his brightest. Domaszewski's conclusion that Curtius wrote in the reign of Hadrian—he dates Curtius's work possibly after the death of Antinous—enables him to explain (6-24) the frequent parallels between Curtius and Arrian. But, until it is possible to show that the new star can be nobody but Hadrian⁵, one must reserve judgment on the relationship between Curtius and Arrian. Arrian, so Domaszewski argues (5-6), had been led by his experiences in Trajan's Parthian campaign to recognize the reliability of Ptolemy's history of Alexander's campaigns, and his own history of Alexander was a youthful attempt to counteract the views then current. Curtius used Arrian when he saw fit in the earlier part of his work, that is, until Alexander dismissed his Greek allies.

¹The monograph, lacking index and table of contents, contains the following chapters and subdivisions: I. Die Quellen der Geschichte Alexanders: Die Zeit des Curtius (3-5), Die Abfassungszeit der Anabasis des Arrian (5-6), Die Quellen des Curtius (6-24); II. Die Organisation von Alexanders Heer: Die Gliederung der Phalanx (24-32), Die Bezeichnung der Manipeln in der Römischen Legion (32-33), Die Gliederung der Hetären (33-36), Die Hypaspisten (36-38), Das Heer am Granicus (38-42), Die Aushebungsbezirke der Phalangen (42-49), Die Marschgeschwindigkeit Alexanders (49-50); III. Die Taktik der Entscheidungsschlachten: Die Schlacht am Granicus (51-57), Die Schlacht bei Issos (57-68), Die Schlacht bei Gaugamela (68-79); IV. Caesars Legionen (79-86).

²See Domaszewski, page 44, on the manuscript reading *adscitos*, which has been altered by editors to *adscitiss*.

³For the manuscript reading *dux peregrini militis* see Domaszewski, page 43, and note 4. By collating Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.11.8, Diodorus 17.57.2-3, and Curtius 4.13.28, von Roeder is able to clarify and correct the text of Curtius.

⁴*Huius* was supposed by previous editors to refer to Claudius.
⁵J. Stroux, *Die Zeit des Curtius*, *Philologus* 84.233-251, has recently proposed an attractive hypothesis which places the passage of Curtius (10.9.1-7) in a new light. He argues that it has reference to the accession of Vespasian and the Flavian dynasty after the Civil Wars (*bella civilia, facer, gladios*).

Up to this point, Callisthenes, supplemented by Anaximenes, who represented Hellenic rather than Macedonian sources, was the common foundation on which all historians of Alexander built. After the death of Callisthenes, Anaximenes continued the story. Upon Callisthenes and Anaximenes built Clitarchus and the Peripatetic Duris of Samos, whose conceptions of Alexander were biased by his sympathy with Callisthenes. Their interpretation of Alexander held the field, despite the attempts made by Aristobulus and Ptolemy to give to the world a truer picture of the conqueror and his campaigns. Thus Alexander was regarded as a tyrant by both Greeks and Romans until the world saw in Trajan a second Alexander, and Arrian drew again from the purer source of Ptolemy. Curtius, being merely a rhetorician, continued in the path of his school, using sources hostile to Alexander and repeating the slanders of Duris and Clitarchus (24).

In this chapter on the sources of Curtius, passages from Diodorus, Plutarch, and Arrian are examined and credited to one or another of the early historians.

The monograph, with its inadequate title, begins with the rejoicing of Curtius at the accession of Hadrian; it ends with a statement based on Suetonius, Julius 6. Caesar believed that as descendant of the gods he was the born king of Rome. Is this belief, like his legions, to be attributed to a study of Alexander? The question remains unanswered⁶.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

ALLEN B. WEST

A POMPEIAN PARALLEL

In the garden of the house of Loreius Tiburtinus on the Strada del Abbondanza in Pompeii is an open air dining-room. One branch of the *euripus* which crosses the garden extends between the two couches which may still be seen in this *biclinium*, and the table must actually have risen from the water. In the various discussions of this house which I have seen no mention is made of a very apposite passage from Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* 3. 17. 2: In cubili natant pisces et sub ipsa mensa capitur qui statim transferatur in mensam.

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NOTE ON SENECA, EPISTULAE MORALES 7.4

In his *Epistulae Morales* 7.3-6, Seneca gives us his impressions of a gladiatorial show which he happened to attend (3). In § 4 we read the following statement:

Mane leonibus et ursis homines, meridie spectatori-
bus suis obiciuntur. Interfectores interfecturis iubent

⁶I suspect that a partial answer, at least, can be found in an interesting and suggestive article, by Professor A. R. Anderson, entitled *Heracles and His Successors: A Study of a Heroic Ideal and the Recurrence of a Heroic Type*, in *Harvard Studies* 30 (1928), 7-58. C. K. >

obici et victorem in aliam detinent caedem: exitus pugnantium mors est. Ferro et igne res geritur.

In his note on this passage, Professor W. C. Summers writes as follows (*Select Letters of Seneca*, Edited with Introduction and Explanatory Notes, Macmillan, 1910):

...ferro et igne res geritur] apparently means 'the whole business needs fire and steel to keep it going': these men are not regular gladiators, and have to be kept in the ring with brands, pikes and the lash (*verbera* §5). For the phrase *res geritur* 'it is a case of...' cp. B. <= De Beneficiis > 1.5.2 'a benefit is not tangible: *animo res geritur*', Liv. 10.39.12 (where Papirius scoffs at the foe's gay armour, saying that white tunics grow red *ubi res ferro geritur*).

If we accept Professor Summers' explanation, the whole preceding clause *exitus pugnantium mors est* is without point, because the expression *ferro et igne res geritur* gives the means by which *mors*, the outcome of every fight, is accomplished; *ferro et igne* would therefore be ablatives of means modifying *exitus*. . . *mors est*. The translation then would be: 'Death is the outcome of every fight and the business <of inflicting it> is managed by fire and sword'; or, 'the issue is settled by fire and sword'.

Of course Professor Summers' interpretation is due to his punctuation: he puts a period after *mors est*. It would be better to put a semicolon after *mors est*, as Professor R. M. Gummere did in his translation of Seneca's Letters in the Loeb Classical Library. I quote his translation: "...The outcome of every fight is death, and the means are fire and sword. . ." With this compare the translation of Seneca's Letters by A. Pauly and A. Haakh, revised by T. Scheffer (Berlin, 1926): "...Das Ende für alle Kämpfende muss der Tod sein; mit Feuer und Schwert geht man zu Werke. . ."

There are many parallels to the expression *ferro et igne res geritur*. In the passage under discussion it is to my mind proverbial. It occurs as early as Ennius; compare *Annales* 268 (Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae*², Teubner, 1903): *pellitur e medio sapientia, vi geritur res*. This line is paraphrased by Cicero, *Pro Murena* 30, and is also quoted by Gellius 20.10.4. In Sallust, *B.C.* 60.1 we read. . . *pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur*. In Livy the expression occurs frequently. Compare, for instance, 26.39.12 *sed gladiis etiam prope collato pede gereretur res*; 28.2.6 *gladiis geri res coepta est*; 28.33.5 *collato pede res coepta geri est*.

The many examples (I have limited myself to a few) point to the fact that the expression *res geritur aliqua re*, be it *gladio ferro*, or *vi*, is common. The words "apparently means" in Professor Summers' notes are misleading.

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